

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-02 AID-05 EB-08
EUR-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /083 W
-----012588 130256Z /70

O R 130200Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6057
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO
AMEMBASSY LIMA
AMEMBASSY LA PAZ

C O N F I D E N T I S L SECTION 1 OF 2 SANTIAGO 6665
EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: OTRA, SHUM, ETRD, PGOV, CI
SUBJ: TODMAN VISIT: FIRST DAY'S ACTIVITIES IN SANTIAGO

1. SUMMARY: TOALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL
AND FOLLOW-UP WORKING SESSION WITH TOP MINISTRY
STAFF GOT VISIT OFF ON SOUND, IF UNDRAMATIC, FOOTING.
AFTER CARVAJAL'S REGULAR LECTURE ON THE EVILS OF
COMMUNISM AND THE CHAOS OF ALLENDE, FOREIGN MINISTRY
STAFFERS PORTRAYED CHILE AS INVOLVED IN RANGE OF WORLD
AFFAIRS AND RAISED VARIOUS MULTILATERAL ISSUES.
DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS GAVE IMPASSIONED PRESENTATION
OF ECONOMIC FAILINGS OF REGIME AND DESCRIBED GOC-
IMPOSED RESTRAINTS ON FREE LABOR. FRANK EXCHANGE
WITH COUNTRY TEAM WRAPPED UP DAY. THE GOC VIEWS VISIT AS
OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE AND WE HAVE FOUND IT DEFENSIVE
BUT INTERESTED WHEN WE RAISED HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

2. PROTOCOLARY VISIT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CARVAJAL
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LASTED FOR ALMOST AN HOUR. CARVAJAL PLAYED UP THE
IMPORTANCE OF TRIP FROM THE GOC'S PERSPECTIVE, EX-
PRESSING REGRET THAT TEAM WOULD NOT HAVE MORE TIME TO
GET A TRUE FEEL FOR CHILE. EVEN BRIEF EXPOSURE, HOWEVER,
WOULD PUT THE GROUP AHEAD OF SO MANY WHO CRITICIZE CHILE
WITHOUT EVER HAVING BEEN IN THE COUNTRY. THE GOC REALIZED THAT
MR TODMAN MIGHT STILL CRITICIZE CHILE BUT AT LEAST HE WOULD

HAVE SEEN A PART OF THE CHILEAN REALITY.

3. CARVAJAL THEN LAUNCHED INTO HIS SET PIECE SPEECH ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY AND THE DISTORTED VIEW OF CHILE IT HAS FED TO THE WORLD; THE HORRENDOUS CHAOS THE MILITARY INHERITED FROM ALLENDE; AND THE STRUGGLE THE GOC HAS FACED IN PUTTING THINGS ARIGHT. MISPERCEPTIONS OF THESE REALITIES HAD COMPLICATED US/CHILEAN RELATIONS, BUT THE GOC, WHICH SHARES SO MANY OF OUR VALUES, LOOKS FORWARD TO RESUMING OUR TRADITIONALLY CLOSE TIES.

4. AMBASSADOR TODMAN PARRIED WITH KIND WORDS FOR CARVAJAL'S JULY 29 SPEECH (REFTEL), WHICH CLOSELY REFLECTED US FOREIGN POLICY PERSPECTIVE AND IMPLIED THAT GOC AGREED WITH AND ACTUALLY ENFORCED A HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY SIMILAR TO THAT ADVOCATED BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. THIS CONTRASTED WITH CARVAJAL'S FOREGOING JUSTIFICATION FOR HARSH GOC MEASURES. (CARVAJAL SEEMED IMPRESSED THAT WE HAD GIVEN HIS SPEECH SUCH CLOSE SCRUTINY). HE THEN DESCRIBED HOW THE U.S. HAD TAKEN THE BRUNT OF THE COLD WAR BUT HAD REACHED THE CONCLUSION THAT ANTI-COMMUNISM WAS NOT A SUFFICIENT BANNER TO MOBILIZE SUPPORT AROUND THE WORLD. THUS THE CURRENT EMPHASIS ON THE POSITIVE VIRTUES OF THE DIGNITY OF MAN, WHICH, WHILE BASED UPON LONG-CONFIDENTIAL

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STANDING U.S. BELIEFS, HAD RECENTLY EMERGED AS A PRINCIPAL RALLYING POINT FOR SUSTAINING THE FREE WORLD. HE NOTICED THAT CUBAN INFILTRATION IN THE HEMISPHERE HAD DECREASED AND THAT WHILE WE AWARE OF COMMUNISTS MOTIVES, THEIR SUCCESS DEPENDS ON LOCAL DISCONTENT. ONE MUST ALSO EXAMINE HOW MUCH REFLECTS THE FELT NEEDS OF THE POPULATION.

5. AMBASSADOR TODMAN, HIS ADVISERS, AND EMBOFFS THEN MET WITH A DOZEN SENIOR FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS, LED BY DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ENRIQUE VALDES. VALDES MADE THE POINT THAT "OTHER MATTERS OF INTEREST" TO MR. TODMAN WOULD BE TAKEN UP BY APPROPRIATE MINISTERS DURING THE VISIT; THE OBJECTIVE IN THIS SESSION WAS TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON VARIOUS MULTILATERAL ISSUES. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CHIEF PABLO VALDES LED OFF WITH A CRITIQUE OF DETENTE WHICH, HE SAID, CONTROLLED WORLD CONFLAGRATION BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS BUT TENDED TO IGNORE SOVIET INTRUSIONS IN THE THIRD WORLD. HE URGED US TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF DETENTE AND INVOLVE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WHICH HE ASSERTED HAD A ROLE TO PLAY.

6. MR. TODMAN, BUILDING ON EARLIER REMARKS TO

CARVAJAL, EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR A POSITIVE ESPOUSAL OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES TO COUNTER THE SOVIET MENACE; SAID THAT USG WOULD NOT ABANDON FRIENDS, PARTICULARLY IN THIS HEMISPHERE WHERE THE RIO PACT BINDS US TOGETHER AGAINST OUTSIDE AGGRESSION. BUT IN SEEKING TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH FRIENDS, WE ACCEPT "IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM". HE URGED ALL FREE WORLD COUNTRIES TO PUSH FORWARD THEIR DEMOCRATIC VALUES.

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7. ECONOMIC ADVISER CASANUEVA SAID THAT CHILE'S SURPLUS FOREIGN EXCHANGE, WHICH PERMITTED TIMELY PAYMENT OF DEBT AND THE ABILITY TO CHOOSE SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE, HAD THE BENEFIT OF CLEARING THE DECKS FOR DIALOGUE ON MULTILATERAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. GOC WAS CONCERNED AT POLITICAL STRINGS ON IFI LOANS; FUZZY USG POSITION ON THE COMMON FUND FOR COMMODITIES (WHICH CHILE OPPOSES); DOLLAR AND PERCENTAGE LIMITS ON GSP BENEFITS; AND US OPPOSITION TO LINER CODE OF CONDUCT AGREEMENT. MR. TODMAN RESPONDED THAT IFI'S EXIST UNDER FRAMEWORK OF UNIVERSAL VALUES AS ESPOUSED BY UN
THUS WE DO NOT SEE
INTRODUCTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS CRITERIA AS "POLITICAL".
OUR POSITION ON COMMON FUND IS THAT EACH COMMODITY MUST FIRST

BE EXAMINED SEPARATELY. WE EXPLAINED GSP LIMITATIONS IN TERMS OF CONGRESSIONAL POLITICS AND IN TERMS OF EQUITY BETWEEN THIRD AND FOURTH WORLD SUPPLIERS, BUT ADDED THAT THE ISSUE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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STILL A LIVE ONE IN WASHINGTON. WE PROMISED TO GET BACK TO THEM FORMALLY ON THE SHIPPING CONFERENCE ISSUE. (DEPT AWARE OF OUR PAST DIFFICULTIES WITH CHILEANS OVER SHIPPING.)

8. CHIEF OF THE MINISTRY'S PLANNING OFFICE VIDELA THEN EXPOUNDED AT LENGTH OF CHILE'S GEOPOLITICAL STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE TO THE SOVIETS WHICH LED THEM TO EXACERBATE CHILE'S RELATIONS WITH THE PERUVIANS, BOLIVIANS AND ARGENTINES. THE CHILEANS HAD REFUSED TO BE DRAWN INTO AN ARMS RACE. BUT THE RESULT HAS BEEN A MAJOR DISEQUILIBRIUM IN THE AREA BECAUSE OF PERU'S BUILD-UP; AND THE POSSIBILITY OF CONFLICT ALTHOUGH LOW IS REAL AND GROWING AS THE COMMUNISTS CONTINUE TO INFILTRATE ALL LEVELS OF THE PERUVIAN MILITARY. THE GOC IS AFRAID THAT A US ROLE IN PREVENTING HOSTILITIES MIGHT COME TOO LATE. THE US HAS TO ENSURE THAT THE SOVIET INSPIRED DISEQUILIBRIUM DOES NOT GET OUT OF HAND, SINCE ANY WAR WOULD BE BRIEF AND DEFINING THE AGGRESSOR IS ALWAYS DIFFICULT.

9. AMBASSADOR TODMAN SAID THAT THE USG WAS AWARE OF THESE VARIOUS PROBLEMS IN THE SUB-REGION AND APPRECIATIVE THAT THE GOC HAD NOT JOINED IN AN ARMS RACE WHICH WOULD ONLY FURTHER INCREASE TENSIONS. ALSO WE DISLIKE SEEING ARMS EXPENDITURES AT THE EXPENSE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. HE WELCOMED THE FREQUENT CONTACT BETWEEN CHILEAN AND PERUVIAN MILITARY AND SAID, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT INTEND HIS REMARKS AS A SUGGESTION, THAT MANY THOUGH A BOLIVIAN CORRIDOR WOULD HELP CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE SITUATION CLOSELY AND HOPE THAT WE CAN BE USEFUL IN CALMING THE SITUATION DURING PERIODS OF TENSION.

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10. DEMOCRATIC LABOR LEADERS RIOS, VOGEL AND TUCAPEL JIMENEZ (ALL MEMBERS OF THE "GROUP OF TEN" AKA "DINAMICOS") PAINTED A VERY NEGATIVE PICTURE OF CHILE UNDER THE JUNTA WHICH ACTED AS THOUGH IT WERE AN OCCUPYING ARMY. THEY AGREED THAT THE PRESENT REGIME AND ITS POLICIES RATHER THAN PREVENTING

COMMUNISM ARE PAVING THE WAY FOR IT. MOST VIRULENT WERE THEIR CRITICISMS OF THE SOCIAL/ECONOMIC POLICIES AND THE LOSS OF BASIC TRADE UNION RIGHTS TO MEET, CHOOSE THEIR REPRESENTATIVES, BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY AND STRIKE. THEY ALSO EMPHASIZED THE FEAR INSTILLED BY CONSTANT HARASSMENT FROM THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. AMBASSADOR TODMAN EXPRESSED SYMPATHY FOR THEIR PLIGHT, HOPING THEY WOULD CONTINUE THEIR STRUGGLE, NOTING THAT TRADE UNION FREEDOMS WERE A GOOD INDICATOR OF FREEDOM IN THE SOCIETY ITSELF.

11. AMBASSADOR TODMAN AND HIS TEAM JOINED THE COUNTRY TEAM FOR A SPIRITED OPEN AND FRANK DISCUSSION CENTERING ON THE PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ADMINISTRATIONS' HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND ITS APPLICATION TO CHILE.

12. COMMENT: THE GOC CLEARLY WANTED TO GET THE VISIT OFF TO A FRIENDLY, UNCONTENTIOUS START. THE SOMETIMES PONDEROUS ROUND TABLE AIMED AT SHOWING US THE DIMENSIONS OF CHILE'S INVOLVEMENT IN WORLD AFFAIRS--HENCE THE MANY REASONS WHY US POLICY TOWARD CHILE SHOULD NOT FOCUS ONLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS. IT WOULD PERHAPS HAVE BEEN MORE EFFECTIVE FROM THEIR POINT OF VIEW TO HAVE PLACED LESS STRESS ON THE COMMUNIST MENACE, BUT THAT GAVE US A CHANCE TO GET IN OUR INNINGS ON HUMAN RIGHTS WITHOUT SEEMING TO LECTURE. BOYATT

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